

POSC 370 H
Chinese Foreign Policy
Autumn 2013

The rise of China as a world power is evident in the country's more forward and robust foreign policy. At every turn, the United States must consider China wherever American interests are at stake, be it Korea and Northeast Asia, Indochina and Southeast Asia, India/Pakistan and South Asia, or Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran in the Middle East. This course describes the key factors that make up Chinese foreign policy, including its cultural tradition of dealing with foreigners, its policy-making institutions, the role of the Chinese military, domestic determinants of foreign policy, and China's growing involvement in international regimes and issues. The course will examine China's foreign policy strategies, from an aggressive posture to charming its neighbors to its periodic return to a perceived aggressive stance. We will also examine China's foreign policy toward specific countries, including Korea, Japan, and the United States. Further, we will examine China's role in the global economy, including issues involving international trade, currency manipulation, global warming, and China's role in the growing global competition for energy resources. Throughout the course we will pay attention to how China's foreign policy relates to international relations theories and what strategies the United States might use to manage China's growing role in international affairs.

Books for Purchase:

Robert G. Sutter: *Foreign Relations of the PRC: The Legacies and Constraints of China's International Politics Since 1949.*

Rowman & Littlefield, 2013. ISBN: 978-1-4422-2016-4

Robert G Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations: Power and Policy Since the Cold War,* Rowman & Littlefield, 2008. ISBN 978-0-7425-5537

James Mann: *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, From Nixon to Clinton,* Knopf, 1999.

Materials listed with an * are available on Blackboard.

N.B. The two books by Robert Sutter concern various aspects of China's foreign policy. They may at times be repetitious, but they come at the subject from different angles. We will use both so note the title in the reading assignments.

Responsibilities

Students responsibilities are:

Twenty Five percent for attending each class *and participating* in class discussions. This means coming to class prepared, i.e. having done the reading for the day. **Attendance is noted.**

Participation will be gauged by seminar questions you are to submit where noted in the syllabus. These will be used to generate class discussion.

Twenty percent for one short paper analyzing an aspect of Chinese foreign policy or international relationship. The paper should be no longer than five (5) pages. The paper is **due November 22** by noon via e-mail pes15@case.edu. *Your paper topic requires a written proposal of no longer than one (1) page and should include a list of proper resources.* When writing, **proper citations are required**, either in the body of the text with appropriate follow-up bibliography, footnotes (I prefer footnotes) or endnotes. N.B. Submit bibliographic material with the paper: Do not send it separately. **A penalty of 5% per day late is enforced.**

Twenty percent for a **take-home midterm exam** distributed October 11 and due October 18. The exam will offer four or five questions. Students will write on two of their choice in no longer than eight pages total (approximately four pages for each question). Use *double space, 12-point font total in Word format.* When writing, **proper citations are required**, either in the body of the text with appropriate follow-up bibliography, footnotes (I prefer footnotes) or endnotes. N.B. Submit bibliographic material with the paper: Do not send it separately. **A penalty of 5% per day late is enforced**

Thirty Five percent for a **take-home final exam** distributed December 6 and due December 13 by noon via pes15@case.edu. Students will write on two questions of their choice. The final exam paper should be six (6) to eight (8) pages, double spaced, 12-point font total. When writing, **proper citations are required**, either in the body of the text with appropriate follow-up bibliography, footnotes (I prefer footnotes) or endnotes. N.B. Submit bibliographic material with the paper: Do not send it separately. **A penalty of 5% per day late is enforced**

Students taking 470H at the graduate level will write a 20-25 page *analytical* paper on a foreign policy topic, focusing on what China will do given what you have learned in the course. The topic will be approved after consultation in person with the professor. A one-page written proposal is required after consultation and should include a list of resources to be used..

N.B. Incompletes for the course are not granted without prior approval from me.

N.B. Some class lectures will use PowerPoint slides. I have noticed that many students do not take lecture notes. You should do so. Accordingly, PowerPoint slides are not available.

Tentative Schedule

August 26 Introduction

Lecture 1 Course Introduction

Reading Lecture 1 (sent via e-mail in advance of course start).

***David Swain:** "China's Assertive Behavior: Part One: On 'Core Interests'" in *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 34, winter 2011.

***David Swain & M Taylor Fravel :** "China's Assertive Behavior: Part Two: The Maritime Periphery" in *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 35, summer 2011.

***David Swain:** "China's Assertive Behavior: The Role of the Military in Foreign Policy" in *China's Leadership Monitor*, No. 36, winter 2012.

August 28 & 30 Chinese Identity

Lecture 2 Identity

Reading Lecture 2

***Joshua Kurlantzick:** *Charm Offensive*, Yale University Press, 2006, Chapters 1-3.

***Joshua Kurlantzick:** "A Beijing Backlash" in *Newsweek*, October 4, 2010.

Robert Sutter: *Foreign Relations of the PRC*. Chapter 1

September 2 Labor Day No Class

September 4 Viewing China With International Relations Theory

Lecture 3 Theory

Reading Lecture 3

***Alexander Wendt:** “Anarchy is What States Make of It” in Robert Art & Robert Jervis, *International Politics*, 9th Edition, Longman, 2010.

***Yan Xuetong:** *Ancient Chinese Thought, Modern Chinese Power*, 2011, Chapters 1

September 9 Quiz # 1

September 6, 9, 11 & 13 Dealing With Foreigners

Lecture 4 Tribute and Canton

Reading Lecture 4

***Immanuel C. Y Hsu:** *The Rise of Modern China*, Oxford University Press, 6th Edition, 2000, Pages 130-134 and Chapter 7.

Lecture 5 Unequal Treaties & the Fight for Sovereignty

Reading Lecture 5

***Dong Wang:** *China's Unequal Treaties: Narrating National History* Lanham: Lexington Books, 2005, Introduction and Conclusion.

Lecture 6 Chinese Nationalism

Reading Lecture 6

***Andrew J. Nathan & Robert S. Ross:** *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress*, Norton, 1997, Chapters 1-2.

***Peter Gries:** *China's New Nationalism*, University of Berkeley Press, 2004, Introduction and Chapters 1-2.

September 16 & 18 Determinants of Chinese Foreign Policy

Lecture 7 Institutional

Reading Lecture 7

- ***David M. Lampton, ed.:** *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*, Stanford University Press, 2001, Chapter 2
- Robert G. Sutter:** *Foreign Relation of the PRC*, Chapter 5
- Robert G. Sutter:** *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapters 3.

Lecture 8 Other Actors: Military

Reading Lecture 8

- ***Michael Wines & Edward Wong:** "China's Push to Modernize Military is Bearing Fruit," *The New York Times*, January 5, 2011.
- ***Michael Wines:** "Beijing Resumes Rapid Increase in Military Spending," in *The New York Times*, March 3, 2011/
- ***Edward Wong:** "China Lays Out Vision for Military," *The New York Times*, March 31, 2011.
- ***David M. Lampton, ed.:** *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*, Stanford University Press, 2001, Chapters 3-4.
- ***Anthony Cordesman & Nicholas Yarosh:** *Chinese Military Modernization and Force Development: A Western Perspective*, 2012, Chapter 1.
- ***John Patch:** "Thoroughbred Ship-Killer" in *Proceedings: U.S. Naval Institute*, April 2010.

September 20 & 23 Security

Lecture 9 Power

Reading Lecture 9

- ***David M. Lampton:** *The Three Faces of Chinese Power: Might, Money and Minds*, University of California Press, 2008, Introduction and Chapter 1.

Lecture 10 National Security Policy

Readings Lecture 10

Robert G. Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 5.

***Bates Gill:** *Rising Star: China's New Security Diplomacy*, 2007, Chapters 1-2

***Ike Skelton:** "The Future of the U.S.-China Security Relationship" in *Proceedings*, April 2010.

September 25, 27 & 30

Lecture 11 Domestic Determinants

Reading Lecture 11

***Robert Ross:** *Chinese Security Policy*, Chapter 8.

Robert Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 2.

***Andrew Jacobs:** "Tirades Against Nobel Aim at Audience in China" in *The New York Times*, December 10, 2010.

***David Sanger & Michael Wines:** "China leader's Limits Come Into Focus as U.S. Visit Nears," in *The New York Times*, January 16, 2011

Lecture 12 Same Bed Different Dreams

Reading Lecture 12

***David M. Lampton:** *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy*, Chapter 6.

***David M. Lampton:** *Same Bed Different Dreams*, University of California Press, 2001, Chapter 7.

October 2 Seminar Questions

First seminar questions **due by noon October 1** via pes15@case.edu.

I will collate questions to generate discussion on October 2.

October 4 & 7 Deterrence & Coercion

Lecture 13 Coercive Diplomacy

Reading Lecture 13

***Alexander George:** *Forceful Persuasion: Coercive Diplomacy as an Alternative to War*, United States Institute of Peace Press, 1991, Part One.

Lecture 14 Deterrence

Reading Lecture 14

***Robert Ross:** *Chinese Security Policy: Structure, Power and Politics*, Chapters 5 & 6.

October 9, 11 & 14 China's Cold War Interests

Lecture 15 -- Overview

Reading Lecture 15

Robert Sutter: *Foreign Relations of the PRC*, Chapters 2-3.

Lecture 16 China's Road to Korea

Reading for Lecture 16

***Allen Whiting:** *China Crosses the Yalu*, Chapters 6, 7. & 8.

Lecture 17 Sino-Soviet Relations

Reading for Lecture 17

***Lorenz Lüthi:** *The Sino-Soviet Split*, Chapter 2.

***Steven M. Goldstein:** "Nationalism and Internationalism: Sino-Soviet Relations" in Robinson & Shambaugh: *Chinese Foreign Policy*.

***William Joseph, ed.:** *Politics in China*, 2010 Chapter 5

* **Les Gelb:** "A New Anti-American Axis" in *The New York Times*, July 6, 2013.

October 16 & 18 American Rapprochement

Lectures 18 & 19 Sino-American Rapprochement

Reading for Lecture 18 & 19

James Mann: *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, From Nixon to Clinton*, Knopf, 1999. All.

Robert G. Sutter: *U.S.-Chinese Relations*, Chapter 4.

Robert Sutter: *Foreign Relations of the PRC*, Chapter 3

October 11 **Midterm Distribution**

October 18 **Midterm Due by noon.**

October 18 Overview: Chinese Post Cold War Interests

Lecture 20 -- Post Cold War Interests

Reading for Lecture 20

Robert Sutter: *Foreign Relations of the PRC*, Chapter 4

October 21 FALL BREAK NO CLASS

October 23, 25, 28 & 30 China in the World

Lecture 21 National Security Interests

Reading for Lecture 21

***Craig Hooper & Christopher Albon:** “Get Off the Fainting Couch” in *Proceedings*, April 2010.

***Ralph A. Cossa:** “Security Dynamics in East Asia: Geopolitics vs. Regional Institutions” in David Shambaugh & Michael Yahuda: *International Relations of Asia*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2008.

Robert Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 5 (reprise)

Lectures 22 & 23 Trade & Mercantilism

Reading for Lectures 22 & 23

***Wayne Morrison:** "China - U.S. Trade Issues," *Congressional Research Service*, June 2, 2011

***Sewell Chan:** "World Trade Organization Upholds American Tariffs on Tires From China" in *The New York Times*, December 13, 2010.

***Keith Bradsher:** "After China's Rare Earth Embargo, a New Calculus" in *The New York Times*, November 24, 2010.

***Keith Bradsher:** "China Sets Rules and Wins Wind Power Game" in *The New York Times*, December 15, 2010.

***Keith Bradsher:** "In a Deep Hole on Rare Earths" in *The New York Times*, December 15, 2010.

Robert G. Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 4.

Lecture 24 Currency & Finance

Reading for Lecture 24

***Ken Miller:** "Coping With China's Financial Power" in *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2010.

Robert Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 4.

Lecture 25 Energy: China in Africa, Middle East & Latin America

Reading for Lecture 25

Robert Sutter: *Foreign Relations of the PRC*, Chapter 9.

***Clifford Krauss:** "In Global Forecast, China Looms Large as Energy User and Maker of Green Power" in *The New York Times*, November 9, 2010.

***Barry Bearak:** "Zambia Uneasily Balances Chinese Investment and Workers' Resentment" in *The New York Times*, November 20, 2010.

***Deborah Brautign:** *The Dragon's Gift*, Oxford University Press, 2009, Prologue & Chapter 1.

***Daniel Yergin:** *The Quest: Energy, Security, and the Remaking of the Modern World*, 2011. Chapter 8-10.

***Tim Arango & Clifford Krauss:** "China is Reaping Biggest Benefits of Iraq Oil Boom" in *The New York Times*, June 2, 2013.

November 1 Seminar Questions

Second seminar questions due by noon October 31
via pes15@case.edu.

I will collate questions to generate discussion on October 2.

November 4 & 6 Korea, Japan & the East China Sea

Lecture 26 Korea

Reading for Lecture 26

- ***Ian Johnson & Helene Cooper:** "China Seeks Talks to Ease Korean Tension" in *The New York Times*, November 28, 2010.
- ***Mark Lander & Martin Fackler:** "U.S. Warning to China Sends Ripples to the Koreas" in *The New York Times*, January 20, 2011.
- ***David Sanger:** "North Korea Keeps World Guessing" in *The New York Times*, November 29, 2010.
- ***Scott Snyder:** "The Korea Peninsula and Northeast Asian Stability" in Shambaugh & Yahuda.

Lecture 27 Japan

Reading for Lecture 27

- ***Martin Fackler:** "Japan Announces Defense Policy to Counter China" in *The New York Times*, December 16, 2010.
- ***Martin Fackler:** "Japan to Propose Closer Military Ties With South Korea" in *The New York Times*, January 4, 2011.
- Robert G. Sutter:** *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 8

November 8, 11 & 13 China as a Regional Power

Lecture 28 China as a Regional Power

Reading for Lecture 28

***Edward Wong:** "China Navy Reaches Far, Unsettling the Region" in *The New York Times*, June 4, 2011.

***Joshua Kurlantzick:** "The New Schizophrenia: Asia Between Integration & Isolation" in *Current History*, January 2010.

Patrick Barta & Chris Larano: "Aquino Warns on South China Sea" in *The Wall Street Journal*, July 26, 2011.

***Phillip L. Saunders:** "China's Role in Asia" in Shambaugh & Yahuda.

***Sheldon W. Simon:** "ASEAN and the New Regional Multilateralism: The Long and Bumpy Road to Community" in Shambaugh & Yahuda.

Robert G. Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 9.

Robert Sutter: *Foreign Relations of the PRC*, Chapter 8, pp. 215-243.

Lecture 29 China & Vietnam

Reading for Lecture 29

***The Associated Press:** "Rare Protest in Vietnam raises a Call to Curb China," in *The New York Times*, June 3, 2013.

***Jason Miksi:** "China-Vietnam: Rough Waters: in *The Diplomat*, June 7, 2010.

***Jason Miksi:** "Hanoi Headache for China: in *The Diplomat*, October 6, 2010.

***Brantley Womack:** *China and Vietnam: The Politics of Asymmetry*, Cambridge University Press, 2006, Chapters 10-11.

November 15 South & Central Asia

Lecture 30 China & South/Central Asia

Reading for Lecture 30

***Basharat Peer:** Letter From New Delhi: Clash of the Tigers" in *Foreign Affairs*, March 6, 2010.

***Jim Yardley:** India Digs in Its Heels as China Flexes Its Muscles" in *The New York Times*, December 29, 2010.

***Edward Wong:** "China Quietly Extends Footprints into Central Asia" in

The New York Times, January 2, 2011.

Robert G. Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 10

Robert G. Sutter: *Foreign Relations of the PRC*, Chapter 8, pp 243-250.

***Martha Brill Olcott:** "Central Asia: Carving an Independent Identity Among Peripheral Powers" in Shambaugh & Yahuda.

*"More than Minerals" in *The Economist*, March 21, 2013

*"Playing the Peacemaker?" in *The Economist*, May 11, 2013

November 18 Russia & Europe

Lecture 31 China in Europe, Europe in Asia

Reading for Lecture 31

Robert G. Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 11

Robert G. Sutter: *Foreign Relations of the PRC*, Chapter 8 pp 250-261 & Chapter 9, pp. 293-303

***Sebastian Bersick:** "Europe in Asia" in Shambaugh & Yahuda.

November 20, 22 & 25 Taiwan, Tibet & Xinjiang

Lecture 32 China & Taiwan

Reading for Lecture 32

Robert Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 7

***Robert Sutter:** *U.S.-Chinese Relations*, Chapter 10

***Robert Ross:** *Chinese Security Policy*, 2009. Chapter 7

Lecture 33 China & Tibet & Xinjiang

Reading for Lecture 33

***Frank Jannuzi, Jay Branegan, Nicholas Ma & Joel Starr:** "Tibet: Seeking Common Ground on the Rooftop of the World," *U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee*, March 2011.

***Rick Gladstone:** "Second Tibetan Monk Burns Himself to Death in Protest" in *The New York Times*, August 15, 2011.

***Sharon LaFraniere:** "China Starts Two-Month Security Crackdown in Western Region" in *The New York Times*, August 16, 2011.

November 27 -29 No Class

December 2 Sino-U.S. Relations

Lecture 34 Sino-U.S. Relations & the American Pivot

Reading for Lectures 34,

***Kenneth Lieberthal & Wang Jisi:** *Addressing U.S. - China Strategic Distrust*, Brookings Institution, 2012.

***Andrew Nathan:** "How China Sees America" in *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2012.

***Kevin Rudd:** "Beyond the Pivot" in *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2013.

***Peter Gries:** *China's New Nationalism*, Chapter 8 .

Robert G. Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 6.

December 4 Seminar Questions

**Third seminar questions due by noon December 3
via pes15@case.edu.**

I will collate questions to generate discussion on December 4.

December 6 Summation of Chinese Behavior in Foreign Policy

Lecture 35 Chinese Behavior in Foreign Policy

Reading for Lectures 34

Gerald Segal: "Does China Matter?" in *Foreign Affairs*,
September/October 1999.

December 6 Final Exam Review & Distribution

December 13 Final Exam Due by noon via pes15@case.edu.